
T H E

C R I S I S.

N U M B E R LVI. *To be continued Weekly,*
DURING THE PRESENT BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

SATURDAY, February 10, 1776, [Price Two-pence Halfpenny.]

A candid Appeal to every true Lover of God, his Country,
and Himself;

[*Concluded from our last.*]



VERY Man is apt to delight in his own Country. I am proud to confess a particular Predilection for mine, and would give ample Testimony of my Love for for it, by spilling the last Drop of my Blood in its Defence. My Thoughts as to King and State depend entirely upon their Actions. No Man shall be a more faithful and loyal Subject to him, than I, when I know he makes the Good and Prosperity of his People, his Glory; none more his Enemy, when I am convinced he does the Contrary. It would be well for him not to plume himself upon the Security of his Title to the Crown, but recollect, that as it was gained by one Revolution, it may be lost by another.

As an Englishman, I admire the excellent Constitution of my Country, its wise System of Laws, and prefer no Form of Government to a Monarchy so qualified and limited, as ours was intended

to

to be, by the last Settlement of our Ancestors. And although I sincerely wish it may for ever preserve its original monarchical Form. I will always entertain the Manners of a strict Republican---I will ever shew a general Attachment to the Common-Weal, distinct from any partial Attachment to Persons and Families---an implicit Submission to the Laws only, and an Affection to the Magistrate, proportioned to the Integrity and Wisdom, with which he distributes Justice to the People, and administers their Affairs at Home and Abroad.

The best Form of Government may be tamely given up, and surrendered into the Hands of a Master, but English Spirit hath always hitherto been answerable to the Constitution. The most insidious Attempt on their Liberties, never failed to awaken the Resentment of our generous Forefathers. The Jealousy, with which Englishmen have ever yet guarded national Freedom, is a convincing Testimony of their Right, and of their constant Possession of it.

How can I see all that I love in the World destroyed? As a Briton, I have an Interest, equal to the proudest Noble in the Laws and Constitution of my Country; and am equally called upon to make a generous Contribution in Support of them. Can I submit to serve a Government, that seeks the most detestable Means of establishing itself? Ah! No. I must live by just Means and serve to just Ends, or not at all. My Duty, as a Subject, truly loyal to the Magistracy, is neither to advise or submit to Arbitrary Measures. As a rational Being, distinguished by the peculiar Goodness of God, can I degrade the Dignity of my Nature, by a Tame Surrender of my Freedom, for the base Shackles of Slavery? No. If Life be the Gift of Providence, I will not renounce the Blessings of Freedom, without which, Life is not only miserable, but contemptible.

After such a Manifestation (which the whole of the present Reign has afforded) of the Ways by which it is intended the King shall govern, I do, in the most solemn Manner, resolve never to become a Slave. I cannot learn the vile courtly Arts of these flattering Times; I will not betray my Brethren. I hope to die in the same Principles in which I have lived, and I will live no longer than they can preserve me. Less than this, I think cannot be dispensed with in an honest Man. I have ever had in Mind, that, when I should be

be cast into such a Condition, as that I cannot save my Life, but by the surrender of my Liberty, which is far dearer to me, the Hour is come, wherein I should resign both.

There have been Monsters in other Ages, and in other Countries, as well as ours, but they never continued their Devastations long, when there were Heroes to oppose them.

I have ever wished for Peace, Safety, and good Government, which I trust under God, from a firm Union of the true Friends to their Country, will be established. Let us remember, that the more Genius, Industry, and Spirit are employed to destroy, the harder the Task of saving our Country becomes; but that our Duty increases with the Difficulty. God, who knows the Hearts of all Mankind, will vouchsafe to sanctify the Pursuits of all those who intend fairly and honestly by the People.

Vice and Folly, will do much to defeat the Ends of the best Institutions; what Effect they have had in our Time, is visible to all. Every legal Method for redress of Grievances, has been repeatedly tried without the smallest Hope of Success. The first Appeal was to the Integrity of our Representatives---the Second to the Justice of our King---the last Argument, which is our Duty to have recourse to, will carry more than Persuasion to Parliament, or Supplication to the Throne. The Multitude in all Countres are patient to a certain Point. On that Day, which Almighty God of his infinite Goodness, will set apart from all other Business, for the Vindication of his own Honour, and the Redressing of our Wrongs, let us beseech him to have Mercy on his People, and that he will save and defend them, and avenge the Blood of those who have already perished, upon the Heads of those, who in their Pride, think nothing is able to oppose them. And likewise, that he will animate us, with a firm, temperate Zeal, so as to prevent the Constitution itself from falling a Victim to enraged Fury, in the Moment that we risque our Lives in Opposition to Tyranny and lawless Ambition.

Truly happy must that Man be, whom God shall make an Instrument of his Justice, in so blessed a Work, as the Maintenance of Truth and Reason, Liberty and Virtue,

If Governments arise from the Consent of Men, and are instituted by Men according to their own Inclinations, they did therein seek their own good; for the Will is ever drawn by some real good, or the Appearance of it. That is that which Man seeks by all the regular or irregular Motions of his Mind. Reason and Passion, Virtue and Vice do herein concur, though they differ vastly in the Objects, in which each of them thinks this good to consist. A People therefore that set up Kings, Dictators, Consuls, Pretors or Emperors, do it not, that they may be great, glorious, rich or happy, but that it may be well with themselves and their Posterity. This is not accomplished simply by setting one, a few, or more Men in the Administration of Powers, but by placing the Authority in those who may rightly perform their Office. This is not every Man's Work: Valour, Integrity, Wisdom, Industry, Experience and Skill, are required for the Management of those military and civil Affairs that necessarily fall under the Care of the Chief Magistrates. He or they therefore may reasonably be advanced above their Equals, who are most fit to perform the Duties belonging to their Stations, in order to the public Good, for which they were instituted.

Marius, Sylla, Cataline, Julius or Octavius Cæsar, and all those who by Force or Fraud usurped a Dominion over their Brethren, could have no Title to this Right; much less could they become Fathers of the People, by using all the most wicked Means that could well be imagined to destroy them; and not being regularly chosen for their Virtues, or the Opinion of them, nor preferred on Account of any Prerogative that had been from the Beginning annexed to their Families, they could have no other Right than Occupation could confer upon them. If this can confer a Right, there is an End of all Disputes concerning the Laws of God or Man. If Julius and Octavius Cæsar did successively become Lords and Fathers of their Country, by Slaughtering almost all the Senate, and such Persons as were eminent for Nobility and Virtue, together with the major Part of the People, it cannot be denied, that a Thief, who breaks into his Neighbour's House, and kills him, is justly Master of his Estate; and may exact the same Obedience from his Children, that they render to their Father. If this Right could be transferred to Tiberius, either through the Malice of Octavius, or the Fraud of his Wife; a wet Blanket laid over his Face, and a few corrupted Soldiers could invest Caligula with the same. A vile Rascal pulling Claudius out by the Heels from behind the Hangings where he had hid

hid himself, could give to him. A Dish of Mushrooms well seasoned by the infamous Strumpet his Wife, and a Potion prepared for Britannicus by Locusta, could transfer it to her Son, who a Stranger to his Blood. Galba became Heir to it, by driving Nero to despair and death. Two common Soldiers, by exciting his Guards to kill him, could give a just Title to the Empire of the World to Otho, who was thought to be the worst Man in it. If a Company of Villains in the German Army, thinking it as fit for them as others, to create a Father of Mankind, could confer the Dignity upon Vitellius; and if Vespasian, causing him to be killed, and thrown into a Jakes less impure than his Life, did inherit all the glorious and sacred Privileges belonging to that Title, 'tis in vain to inquire after any Man's Right to any thing.

If there be such a thing as right or wrong to be examined by Men, and any Rules set, whereby the one may be distinguished from the other; these Extravagancies can have no Effect of Right. Such as commit them, are not to be looked upon as Fathers; but the most mortal Enemies of their respective Countries. No Right is to be acknowledged in any, but such as is conferred upon them by those who have a Right of Conferring, and are concerned in the exercise of the Power, upon such Conditions as best please themselves. No Obedience can be due to him or them, who have not a Right of Commanding. This cannot reasonably be conferred upon any, that are not esteemed willing and able rightly to execute it. This Ability to perform the highest Works that come within the reach of Men; and Integrity of Will not to be diverted from it by any Temptation, or Consideration of private Advantages, comprehending all that is most commendable in Man; we may easily see, that whensoever Men act according to the Law of their own Nature, which is Reason, they can have no other Rule to direct them in Advancing one above another, than the Opinion of a Man's Virtue and Ability, best to perform the Duty incumbent upon him; that is, by all Means to procure the Good of the People committed to his Charge. He is only fit to conduct a Ship, who understands the Art of a Pilot: When we are sick, we seek the Assistance of such as are best skill'd in Physick: The command of an Army is prudently conferred upon him that hath Industry, Skill, Experience and Valour: In like Manner, he only can, according to the Rules of Nature, be advanced to the Dignities of the World, who excels in the Virtues required for the Performance of the Duties annexed

to them; for he only can answer the End of his Institution. The Law of every instituted Power, is to accomplish the End of its Institution, as Creatures are to do the Will of their Creator, and in deflecting from it, overthrow their own being. Magistrates are distinguished from other Men, by the Power with which the Law invests them for the Public good: He that cannot or will not procure that Good, destroys his own being, and becomes like to other Men. In Matters of the greatest Importance, *Detur digniori* is the Voice of Nature; all her most sacred Laws are perverted, if this be not observed in the Disposition of the Governments of Mankind: But all is neglected and violated, if they are not put into the Hands of such as excel in all Manner of Virtues; for they only are worthy of them, and they only can have a Right who are worthy, because they only can perform the End for which they are instituted.

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